1: Linton E-5 (1926-27) 1933 FY8 Tanala FY8

meat was cut, each piece wrapped in leaves, and the whole packed in. Stones, heated in a near-by fire, were placed on top and the whole covered with more leaves, but no earth or embers. The moisture from the meat and leaves made a little broth, which collected in the bottom of the hole. This method continued in use long after the introduction of pottery and one locality is still known as Antongatra because it was the usual practice of the people living there.

Calves or small cattle were sometimes cooked whole by means of thick spongy vines of two species called *vahipika* and *vahimarana*. The ends of two or three of these vines were inserted into each nostril and into the anus, while the other ends were put in a fire. The hot sap and steam conducted into the animal in this way cooked it thoroughly. It is said that this method is still used by cattle thieves when they wish to devour their booty on the spot.

At the present time nearly all food is boiled in iron pots obtained from the traders. Such pots are highly valued and when a Tanala leaves his own territory to work in a town he will usually purchase one with his first wages. Some native families have a number of them displayed on the shelf above the fireplace as a sign of wealth. They are readily loaned to neighbors or travelers, but etiquette requires that the borrower leave a little food in the pot when he returns it. Pots are supported in the fire by a low tripod made from three pointed stones bedded in the earth of the fireplace.

The amount of rice to be cooked for a meal is measured out by means of a small, stiff basket. This is of standard size and holds slightly more than the cup used as a unit in our own recipes. One measure of dry rice is allowed for each adult, with a smaller measure for each child. In some houses I saw a number of graduated rice measures, used for children of different ages.

The rice, which has previously been pounded and winnowed, is washed until the water drains off clear. It is then put in the pot with about twice its amount of water. It is allowed to boil dry. Most of the grains are crisp and flaky, but a layer of burned rice adheres to the vessel. After the unburned rice has been taken out, water is put in the pot, stirred and brought to a boil. This water, which tastes somewhat like weak coffee, is drunk with the meal and is considered a delicacy. As a luxury, rice may be boiled with milk or broth. It is rarely if ever salted while cooking.

Although boiled rice is the staple diet, it is never served without a side dish of some sort to give it flavor. Even the very poor have boiled greens, made from the leaves and shoots of a great variety

426 even to his sons until he thinks he is about to die. Loans and other business transactions involving money are always made publicly, in the presence of witnesses, even when they are between members of the same lineage.

423 In discussing the Tanala ideas of property it is necessary to distinguish at the outset between land and property of all other sorts. To understand the native attitude toward land, the local conditions must be kept in mind. In pre-European times the popula- [36] tion was sparse and apparently almost static. The villages lay far apart, each one surrounded by a great stretch of uninhabited [433] forest. The natural supply of forest products and of land for pasture always exceeded the local needs. Moreover, the *tavy* method of agriculture required that the land be allowed to lie fallow for from five to ten years between plantings. Under such conditions there was little incentive for individual ownership.

423 In pre-European times the ultimate ownership of land was 621 vested in the village. Each village owned a definite territory whose 596 limits were established at the time it was founded. The boundaries were usually rivers, mountain ranges or other natural divisions. [721] The villages were jealous of their rights and serious trespass, such as pasturing cattle or cutting *tavy*, would result in war. Transfer of land between lineages of the same village was permissible and not uncommon, but its sale to outsiders was impossible without the consent of the council. Actually, it was so rare as to be almost unknown.

The ownership of land within the village stockade was vested in the various lineages, except for the *kianza* ("village square"), which was common property. Each lineage owned a ward, which was usually a segment extending from the *kianza* to the stockade (see The Village). If a lineage grew too large for its ward, all the members contributed to buy land from the adjoining lineages. When one or more families withdrew to form a new lineage, the ward was divided.

Among the Menabe, fallow land and virgin jungle were, for all practical purposes, held in common. A villager was entitled to place beehives, set traps and gather timber and forest products [233] on any land which was not in use. Cattle could also be pastured anywhere, those of the entire village usually being kept in a single herd. For agricultural purposes the land was, at least in theory, divided into sectors running from the village to the limits of its territory. Each sector lay in the same direction with regard to